

Message Text

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FOR CARTER FROM PA

E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: SOPN, OVIP (VANCE)

SUBJECT: PRESS MATERIAL

1. HEREWITH FULL TEXT JIM HOAGLAND OP-ED COLUMN WASHINGTON POST TUESDAY MAY 31 HEADED "EUROPEAN UNEASE OVER OUR AFRICA APPROACH."

2. SUBTITLE "VICE PRESIDENT MONDALE'S JARRING VERBAL CONFRONTATION WITH SOUTH AFRICA'S PRIME MINISTER, JOHN VORSTER, IN VIENNA LAST WEEK HELPED ESTABLISH ANOTHER EARLY, IMPORTANT DIFFERENCE IN THE AMERICAN AND BRITISH APPROACHES TO RHODESIA."

PARIS--THE CARTER ADMINISTRATION'S DIPLOMATIC ASSAULT ON SOUTHERN AFRICA POSES A SERIOUS TEST FOR ANOTHER MAJOR FOREIGN-POLICY GOAL IT HOLDS, THAT OF CLOSER COOPERATION

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WITH AMERICAN ALLIES IN EUROPE.

4. AN INITIAL BURST OF COOPERATION HAS PRODUCED THE FIRST UNITED FRONT OF WESTERN NATIONS, AND SOME PROGRESS IN PRELIMINARY NEGOTIATIONS, ON THE TICKING RACIAL TIME BOMBS OF SOUTHERN AFRICA. HOLDING THE FRONT TOGETHER IS VITAL TO HOPES FOR MORE PROGRESS, SAY AMERICAN OFFICIALS

INVOLVED IN THE EFFORT.

5. BUT CONFLICTING INTERESTS AND STYLES IN SOUTHERN AFRICA COULD TEAR THE NEGOTIATING EFFORT APART AND, MORE-OVER, LEAVE DEEP SCARS ON THE AMERICAN TRANSATLANTIC PARTNERSHIP WITH BRITAIN AND FRANCE, OTHER OFFICIALS FEAR.

6. SOME OF THOSE STRAINS ARE SURFACING ALREADY. THE REPEATED CRITICAL REMARKS BY ANDREW YOUNG, US AMBASSADOR TO THE UNITED NATIONS, ABOUT BRITAIN'S "COLONIAL MENTALITY" ARE CREATING CONCERN IN LONDON ABOUT A LATENT ANTI-BRITISH SENTIMENT DEVELOPING WITHIN THE ADMINISTRATION.

7. MANY OF THE STRAINS TO DATE APPEAR TO BE ROOTED IN STYLE. THE YOUNGER, MORE MORALISTIC AMERICAN TEAM WORKING ON SOUTHERN AFRICA IS IMPATIENT WITH BRITAIN'S SEEMINGLY "FUDGY DUDDY," OVERLY LEGALISTIC APPROACH.

8. BRITAIN AND FRANCE, FOR THEIR PART, ARE HAVING TROUBLE DIGESTING A NEW APPROACH FROM WASHINGTON THAT THE SOUTHERN AFRICA INITIATIVE EXEMPLIFIES. AFTER HAVING STRUCK THE HIGHEST POSSIBLE PROFILE ON THE ISSUE, THE ADMINISTRATION IS NOW FOLLOWING UP WITH QUIET NEGOTIATIONS DESIGNED TO GET WHITES IN RHODESIA AND NAMIBIA (SHOUTH-WEST AFRICA) TO SHARE POWER WITH BLACKS.

9. "HENRY KISSINGER REALLY DID DO EVERYTHING STEP BY UNCLASSIFIED

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STEP, NOT JUST THE MIDDLE EAST," SAID AN AMERICAN OFFICIAL. "HE BELIEVED YOU COULD ONLY TAKE ONE BITE OUT OF THEM AT A TIME.

10. "THIS ADMINISTRATION STARTS BY ANNOUNCING EVERY-THING IT WANTS, AND LOUDLY. YOU IDENTIFY YOUR GOALS, GET PEOPLE TO FOCUS ON THEM, AND THEN YOU PULL BACK TO START NEGOTIATING FOR WHAT'S OBTAINABLE RIGHT AWAY, KEEPING THE ULTIMATE GOAL ALWAYS IN SIGHT."

11. KISSINGER--WHO USED TO SAY THAT MOST AMERICANS THOUGHT NAMIBIA WAS A MAKE OF AUTOMOBILE--WAS CONVERTED ONLY LATE IN HIS GOVERNMENT SERVICE TO PAYING ANY ATTENTION TO AFRICA. THE CARTER ADMINISTRATION IS MOVING AT A MUCH MORE RAPID AND AT TIMES UNEVEN PACE.

12. UNDERLYING EUROPEAN UNEASE AT THE NEWLY TOUGHENED AMERICAN POSITION TOWARD SOUTH AFRICA IS THE SPECTER OF THE UNITED NATIONS ATTEMPTING TO IMPOSE ECONOMIC SANC-

TIONS AGAINST SOUTH AFRICA IF THE NAMIBIA NEGOTIATIONS BREAK DOWN.

13. BRITAIN, WITH THREE TIMES AS MUCH INVESTMENT IN SOUTH AFRICA AS THE AMERICAN STAKE OF \$1.5 BILLION, AND FRANCE, WHICH HAS FOLLOWED UP YEARS OF LUCRATIVE ARMS SALES TO PRETORIA BY NOW BEING GIVEN MAJOR CONTRACTS FOR COMMERCIAL AIRLINERS, NUCLEAR PLANTS AND OTHER INDUSTRIAL GOODS, WOULD UNDOUBTEDLY VETO THE SANCTIONS EFFORT.

14. BUT THEY FEAR THAT THE UNITED STATES MIGHT NOT JOIN THEM. YOUNG FANNED THE FEARS BY TELLING AN INTERVIEWER IN LONDON THURSDAY THAT, WHILE "I WOULD LOVE TO AVOID (SANCTIONS)," THEY MIGHT BE IMPOSED IF "TIED TO SPECIFIC AIMS," SUCH AS LIMITING NEW INVESTMENT FOR FIXED PERIODS.

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15. YOUNG'S WIDE-RANGING TRIP TO AFRICA THIS MONTH AND VICE PRESIDENT MONDALE'S JARRING VERBAL CONFRONTATION WITH SOUTH AFRICA'S PRIME MINISTER, JOHN VORSTER, IN VIENNA LAST WEEK HELPED ESTABLISH ANOTHER EARLY, IMPORTANT DIFFERENCE IN THE AMERICAN AND BRITISH APPROACHES TO RHODESIA.

16. WHILE HE DID NOT SPELL IT OUT EXPLICITLY IN PUBLIC DURING THE TRIP, MONDALE IS KNOWN NOW TO HAVE SHAKEN VORSTER WITH A TOUGHLY WORDED AMERICAN REFUSAL TO SUPPORT IN ANY WAY A FINAL AGREEMENT THAT ENTRENCHES THE WHITE MINORITY'S POSITION, ON A RACIAL BASIS, ONCE INDEPENDENCE IS ACHIEVED.

17. KISSINGER WAS PREPARED TO USE A \$100 MILLION DEVELOPMENT FUND TO BUY OUT FARMS OF WHITE SETTLERS AFTER INDEPENDENCE AND TO SUPPORT A SCHEME TO GIVE THE WHITES AN EFFECTIVE VETO OVER THE CONSTITUTION. ALTHOUGH BRITAIN STILL LEANS TOWARD SUCH PROTECTION AS A WAY TO MAKE IT EASIER FOR PRIME MINISTER IAN SMITH TO COME TO TERMS, THE UNITED STATES SAYS THAT THE WHITES SHOULD NOT GET SPECIAL GUARANTEES.

18. THE BRITISH HAVE BEEN CONFUSED BY CONFLICTING SIGNALS FROM WASHINGTON ON THE IMPORTANCE THE UNITED STATES ATTACHES TO FOREIGN SECRETARY DAVID OWEN'S NEW EFFORT ON RHODESIA.

19. AFTER INITIALLY ENDORSING IT AS A JOINT APPROACH AND PROMISING TO NAME A SENIOR OFFICIAL TO REPRESENT THE UNITED STATES, WASHINGTON PULLED BACK INTO A POSITION OF

"SUPPORTING" A BRITISH "INITIATIVE," AND NAMED STEVEN LOW, A COMPETENT BUT NOT WELL-KNOWN CAREER DIPLOMAT AS THE AMERICAN REPRESENTATIVE TO THE "CONSULTATION TEAM."

OFFICIALS IN LONDON NOTED THAT LOW IS CURRENTLY SERV-
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ING AS AMBASSADOR TO ZAMBIA, A COUNTRY BITTERLY OPPOSED
TO SMITH'S RULE.

20. DETAILS OF THE TEAM'S OVERALL STRATEGY HAVE BEEN
TIGHTLY HELD, BUT IT APPEARS THAT THE ANGLO-AMERICAN
REPRESENTATIVES WILL SKETCH THE OUTLINES OF A CON-
STITUTION AND DRAFT THE LEGISLATION THAT WOULD BRING IT
INTO BEING AFTER TALKING TO SMITH, RHODESIAN AFRICAN
NATIONALISTS AND THEIR PRINCIPAL BACKERS IN AFRICA.

21. THE EFFORT IS TO BYPASS THE GENEVA CONFERENCE ON
RHODESIA, WHICH BROKE DOWN EARLIER THIS YEAR, AND TO
MANEUVER AROUND EXTREMISTS ON BOTH SIDES BY NOT GIVING
THEM THE RIGHT TO VETO PARTS OF THE PROPOSED CONSTITUTION.

22. THE TEAM WILL REPORTEDLY TRY TO GET THE DETAILED
LEGISLATION IT HOPES TO DRAW UP ACCEPTED BY THE NATION-
ALISTS AND THEN PASSED AT THE WINTER SESSION OF RHOD-
ESIA'S PARLIAMENT. ELECTIONS WOULD BE NEXT SPRING, WITH
A MILITARY FORCE DRAWN FROM COMMONWEALTH NATIONS IN
RHODESIA DURING THE ELECTIONS.

23. VORSTER CLEARLY TOOK A STEP BACK ON NAMIBIA, HOW-
EVER. HE HAD AGREED IN PRINCIPLE IN TALKS WITH REPRE-
SENTATIVES OF FIVE WESTERN NATIONS IN CAPE TOWN EARLY
IN MAY TO FREE ELECTIONS FOR A CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY IN
NAMIBIA WITH UN PARTICIPATION.

24. THIS WOULD HAVE EFFECTIVELY SHELVED THE CONSTITU-
TION THAT A SOUTH AFRICAN-SPONSORED GROUP OF AFRICANS AND
WHITES HAS BEEN DRAWING UP AT THE TURNHALL CONFERENCE IN
WINDHOEK AND PUT THAT GROUP ON AN EQUAL FOOTING WITH
OTHER POLITICAL GROUPS IN THE DISPUTED TERRITORY.

25. AT VIENNA, HOWEVER, VORSTER SUDDENLY INSISTED THAT
THE TURNHALL GROUP SHOULD FORM THE INTERIM AUTHORITY THAT
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WOULD ADMINISTER THE TERRITORY DURING THE ELECTIONS.

THE UNITED STATES SUGGESTED IT COULD NOT ACCEPT THIS,
HOLDING OUT FOR A MORE "NEUTRAL" ADMINISTRATIVE AUTHORITY.

26. VORSTER HAS AGREED TO MEET AGAIN WITH THE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE "CONTACT GROUP," COMPOSED OF DIPLOMATS FROM THE UNITED STATES, FRANCE, BRITAIN, WEST GERMANY AND CANADA.

27. THE SOUTH AFRICANS SOUGHT IN THE FIRST ROUND OF TALKS IN MAY TO SPLIT THE GROUP, ACCORDING TO AMERICAN SOURCES,

AND ARE EXPECTED TO PLAY AGAIN ON THE LARGE FINANCIAL STAKE THE BRITISH AND FRENCH HAVE IN TAKING A SOFTER ATTITUDE.

28. BUT AMERICAN DIPLOMATS ARE CONVINCED THAT COUNTER-VAILING PRESSURE FROM BLACK AFRICAN STATES WILL KEEP THE TWO EUROPEAN COUNTRIES ON BOARD THE NEGOTIATING EFFORT.
(END TEXT) CHRISTOPHER

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